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The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of terrain, climate, flora, and fauna, primarily due to variations in altitude within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 feet in altitude, then it drops abruptly on the eastern slope to about 5,000 feet. Generally the Washo lived at 4,500 to 5,500 feet in the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada; around 5,500 to 7,500 in the highlands; and their treks took them down to 3,000 feet on the west side of the Sierra. This gave them a wide range of habitats in mountain-valley terrain.

The highlands and western slopes had yellow pine, fir, and hemlock vegetation; a transitional and boreal life zone; humid mesothermal and microthermal climates; and zones receiving between 10 to 60 inches of annual precipitation. In the mountains the summers are warm, with rains through July. Snows start in November, followed by cold weather with freezing nights until April.

In the lowlands to the east of the Sierra Nevada the Washo had pinon and juniper vegetation, an upper sonoran life zone, and an arid-cold-steppe climate (Elsasser 1960, 3-6). These areas have 100-140 days of growing season and all farming requires irrigation (Department of Economic Development n.d.). The weather station at Minden, Nevada is 4,730 feet above sea level. It has recorded an annual precipitation of 8.73 inches, an average growing season of 144 days from May 29 to September 20, a high maximum temperature of 109° F. and a low maximum of -24° F.

Throughout Washo territory the average variability of annual precipitation is around 20-25%. In the months of December through February 60-70% of possible sunshine is received and the figure is 80-90% in the months of June through August.

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The mountains and lakes (especially Lake Tahoe), the high percentage of sunny days, and legalized gambling in Nevada make tourism the major industry in Washo territory today. Cattle raising and dairying are the most important agrarian industries. Lumbering and mining are of minor importance (Department of Economic Development n.d.).

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Compared with other tribes in the Great Basin the Washo occupied a very abundant environment. Hamilton described the Truckee River country in 1844 as "a hunter's paradise, with the streams full of fish and blue grouse in every direction" (Sieber 1951, 162). This abundance is reflected in the fact that the Washo had a higher population density than any other Great Basin tribe. Kroeber (1947, 137) gives a figure for the Washo that comes out as 2.4 square miles per person. The average population density for all of the Great Basin was roughly 15 square miles per person (Steward 1938, 46).

342 blanket or a skin. An entrance passageway about four feet long was usually attached to the house.

[354] Stewart (1941) reported the presence of a gabled house 10 feet high, 12 feet wide, and 15 feet long with two upright poles, a ridgepole, and a covering of some combination of brush, bark, twined bark mat, pine sod, and earth. The doorway of this was flush with the side wall. It also had a fireplace inside with a pit and a smoke hole in the roof. Stewart also mentions a tripod foundation house and a cone-shaped house (with a basketry door and encircled with stones). None of my informants mentioned a house with a ridge pole, although they were familiar with the elliptical bark slab house described by Barrett (1917, 10-11).

The main house frame was made by interlocking the upper limbs or forks of three or four poles about 18 feet long so that they intersected at about 12 to 15 feet. The slope of the poles was such that the triangle formed by two poles at the point of their intersection and the ground would be roughly an equilateral triangle. With equal sides (and equal angles), the diameter of the house floor was the same as the length of the poles from where they touch the ground to where they intersect. This gave a very stable frame for the house. The poles were buried in the ground and tied at the top with willows.

[824] A number of long willow or pine poles were leaned around on this frame. Geographical location determined the materials used in the final covering. The frame poles may have been carried for a long distance, the covering was always of local materials such as cedar bark, bundles of tules or grass, or cedar boughs. The first layer was tied on to the circle of poles with green willows manzanita, cattails, or strips of deer hide. The covering was placed first around the bottom and then higher. A shingle or thatched effect was attached to shed the rain. A hole about a foot square was left open at the top for the smoke to leave. The second layer of covering was the same as the first or was some combination of pinesod, branches, and brush.

[354] [417] When the outside was complete, they cleaned up the inside, shoved the protruding limbs back or broke them off, and made a shallow fireplace (diyu itgumsɬwɛ), possibly with a ring of rocks. A ladder (bakmanga) of a tree with big limbs to climb on was leaned against the house to build a windbreak for the smoke hole (dauryatsim buutsui).

372 The fire (di?yu) was made by rotating a wooden rod in the hands while pressing down on another piece of wood. Soft bark was used for tinder. Once a fire was started it was kept going with a firestick (ulu ushi). The ashes (tsapo) were carried out in a basket. Firewood was piled up outside with a few sticks brought in to maintain the fire during the night. The job of gathering firewood (mask bɛɬɛsing) and especially maintaining the fire usually fell to the old people. In good weather a fire was kept and cooking was sometimes done outside.

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For the first two days only the immediate family and relatives were concerned. It was up to them to provide the food for the feast and gifts for guests. A close relative could eat at the feasts, but would never take one of the gifts. The close relatives played the leading roles in the ceremony.

The girl's mother, older sister, or some other woman would comb her hair, assist the girl to stand up, and keep her from making mistakes. This assistant (desú) was not necessarily the same woman for the whole four days.

Her father or uncle "talked" for her health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. Her mother, grandmother, and some other old and respected woman bathed and prayed for her during the ceremony.

The staff (bá-du? úhu?) that the girl carried was made from a strong straight piece of elderberry wood about 7 ft. long. The bark was peeled off and the staff was painted with red ocher in bands or all over. The staff was prepared by the girl's assistant on the first day of her menstruation. When the staff was completed the assistant would speak to it saying "My stick don't fall down. Help this girl." It was important that the staff never fall to the ground for it was symbolic of the girl -- straight, erect and strong.

During the woman's dance (yuwí-ya) a present of buckskin, feathers, or moccasins was tied to the staff. This present was taken off by one of the woman dancers. The staff also served as a scratching stick.

On the morning after the dance and the girl's bath, the staff was taken by the girl's father and hidden somewhere on a mountain side. The father placed or tied the staff upright next to a young living tree. It was preferably placed on the north side of a tree where the sun would not strike it and bend it. Some say that a brother or sister may take the staff to the mountain side and that the staff may be leaned against a rock, placed in a hole dug in the ground, or placed in a natural crevice in the rocks. After it had been hidden it was left untouched. It was believed to aid the girl through her life, giving her legs the strength and lightness to climb the mountains.

One of the girl's tasks was to gather wood for the fires of her ceremony. Her assistant, brothers, sisters, or friends were permitted to help her. Some of this wood was placed ready for a fire where the dance would be. The rest was placed in four piles up the side of a nearby hill to the top.

231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Surprisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about
124 pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluc-
231 tance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a
825 lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

231 Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still
 [489] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

177 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting
 222 in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the
 492 ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

175 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the
 177 Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport
 492 the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.
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177 Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and
 423 eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water, and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gathering trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their involvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School, [492] which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men